

DP-Internal Operators and their Scopal Interaction with Operators of the Verb*

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Introduction and Aim

Hungarian generative literature (e.g. Brody & Szabolcsi 2003, É. Kiss & Kiefer 1994, É. Kiss 2002, Surányi 2011) **only focus on the operator zone belonging to the verb**: different sorts of topics, quantifiers, foci. Our aim is to concentrate on **operators that belong to nominal heads** and on their scopal interaction with the verb's operators.

Background

The "dependents" of nominal heads behave as a) verbal arguments, b) adjuncts, c) members of a 'conceptual frame' Laczkó (2000: 303): can be seen as an intermediary status between argumenthood and adjuncthood.

Three types of nominal heads qualify for taking argument(s) (Broekhuis & Keizer 2012: 117—356):

(1) **deverbal nouns**:

inherit the arguments of the input verbs, such as *meghívás* 'invitation'

(2) **story/picture nouns**: are claimed to take an Agent and a Theme as their arguments; in addition, the owner, such as *cikk* 'paper'

(3) **relational nouns**:

obligatorily take an argument that refers to a related entity, such as *szülő* 'parents'

Methods and Results I. Evidences of Existing DP-Internal Operators

The possessor as quantifier (Q "all") in DP-internal position with a deverbal (1a), story-picture (2a), and relational (3a) nominal head can take **scope over the matrix verb** (1a', 2a', 2b'). (1a) (2a) and (3a) show dependents in **DP-internal position with DP-external interpretation. (MEANING1)**

DEVERBAL	DP-INTERNAL	(1a) <i>Elleneztem</i> [_{DP} <i>mindkettőtök(nek a) meghívását</i>]. disagreed-1Sg both-Poss2PI-(Dat the) invitation-Poss3Sg-Acc	MEANING2: 'I was against the idea of inviting you two together.' both > be_against > invite
	PREVERBAL Q ("ALL")	(1a') <i>Mindkettőtöknek</i> <i>elleneztem</i> [_{DP} <i>a meghívását</i>].	
STORY-PICTURE	DP-INTERNAL	(2a) <i>Elfogadtam</i> [_{DP} <i>mindkettőtök(nek a) cikkét</i>]. accepted-1Sg both-Poss2PI-(Dat the) paper-Poss3Sg-Acc	MEANING 2: both > accept > paper
	PREVERBAL Q ("ALL")	(2a') <i>Mindkettőtöknek</i> <i>elfogadtam</i> [_{DP} <i>a cikkét</i>].	
RELATIONAL	DP-INTERNAL	(3a) <i>Imádom</i> [_{DP} <i>mindkettőtök(nek a) szüleit</i>]. admire-1Sg both-Poss2PI-(Dat the) parents-Poss3Sg-Acc	MEANING 2: both > admire > parents
	PREVERBAL Q ("ALL")	(3a') <i>Mindkettőtöknek</i> <i>imádom</i> [_{DP} <i>a szüleit</i>].	



In the case of **deverbal nouns** the possessor can take **the narrowest sentence scope**, if it is given a special rising intonation contour typical of **contrastive topic** (scope-inversion). In example (1b) is, accordingly, the dependent in **DP-external position with DP-internal interpretation.**

DEVERBAL	DP-INTERNAL	(1a) <i>Elleneztem</i> [_{DP} <i>mindkettőtök(nek a) meghívását</i>]. disagreed-1Sg both-Poss2PI-(Dat the) invitation-Poss3Sg-Acc	MEANING 1: 'I was against the idea of inviting you two together.' be_against > both > invite
	CONTRASTIVE TOPIC	(1b) <i>Mindkettőtöknek</i> <i>elleneztem</i> [_{DP} <i>a meghívását</i>].	

With a non-deverbal noun **MEANING2** is impossible, **Mindkettőtöknek* *elfogadtam a cikkét* (comp. **Elfogadtam a mindkettőtök cikkét*.)

→ Conclusion I: a deverbal noun inherits a "real" argument structure which is capable of scopal interaction with the verb's argument structure, whilst a non-deverbal nominal has no argument structure, only "conceptual arguments".

Methods and Results II. Arguments of Deverbal Nouns in DP-Internal and DP-External Operators

The appearance of the argument of **complex event nominals** (CENs, Laczkó 2000, 2009) as **different operators** (F 'only', Q 'all' and 'also') in **different positions** (contrastive topic, preverbal, DP-internal and postverbal operator) is systematically exhibited.

Selected examples, **possessor argument**:

(4a) ?*Csak a fiúnak # ellenzem a meghívását*. **MEANING1:** DISAGREE > ONLY > INVITE
only the boy disagree-Sg1 the invitation

(4b) *Csak a fiúnak ellenzem a meghívását*. **MEANING2:** ONLY > DISAGREE > INVITE

(4c) *Ellenzem [csak a fiúnak/Julinak a meghívását]*. **MEANING1**

(4d) **Ellenzem [a csak a fiú/Juli meghívását]*.

(4e) **[_{DP} A meghívását csak a fiúnak/csak Julinak] ellenzem*.

(4f) **Ellenzem [a meghívását] tegnap [csak a fiúnak/csak Julinak]*.

(5a) [_{DP} *A meghívását mindkét fiúnak*] *ellenzem*. **MEANING1**

(5b) *Ellenezem [a meghívását] sajnós [mindkét fiúnak]*. **MEANING2**

(6a) **A fiúnak is # ellenzem a meghívását*.

(6b) *A fiúnak is ellenzem a meghívását*. **MEANING 2 ~ MEANING1**

(6c) *Ellenzem a fiúnak is a meghívását*. **MEANING2 ~ MEANING1**

(6d) **Ellenzem a fiú is meghívását*.

(6e) **[_{DP} A meghívását a fiúnak is] ellenzem*.

(6f) *Ellenzem [a meghívását] sajnós [a fiúnak is]*. **MEANING2 ~ MEANING**

Conclusion II.

	CONTR. TOPIC	PRE-VERBAL	DP-INTERNAL POSITIONS				POST-VERBAL
			BEFORE D	AFTER D	ATTRIB.	AFTER N	
F ('ONLY')	? (4a)	✓ (4b)	✓ (4c)	* (4d)	✓ (7a)	*(4e)	* (4f)
Q ('ALL')	(?) (1b)	✓ (1a')	✓ (1a)	✓ (1a)	✓ (7b)	✓ (5a)	✓ (5b)
Q ('ALSO')	* (6a)	✓ (6b)	? (6c)	* (6d)	* (7c)	* (6e)	✓ (6f)

Selected examples, **not possessor argument**:

(7a) *Ellenzem a csak a koncertre való meghívását Julinak*. **MEANING1**
disagreed-Sg1 the only the concert-Sub való invitation Juli-Dat.

(7b) *Ellenzem a mindkét koncertre való meghívását Julinak*. **MEANING1**
disagreed-Sg1 the only the concert Sub való invitation Juli-Dat.

(7c) **Elleneztem a koncertre is való meghívását Julinak*.
disagreed-Sg1 the concert-Sub also való invitation Juli-Dat.

Interpretation of possessors as agent/patient

		AGENT: 'I refuse to treat the both of you at the same time.'	PATIENT: 'I refuse to be treated by the both of you at the same time.'
DP-INTERNAL	(5a) <i>Elutasítom</i> [_{DP} <i>mindkettőtök kezelését</i>]. refuse-1S both-Poss2PI treatment-Poss3Sg-Acc	✓ MEANING 2: both > refuse > treat	✓ MEANING 2: both > refuse > treat ✓ MEANING1: refuse > both > treat
PREVERBAL Q ("ALL")	(5a') <i>Mindkettőtöknek</i> <i>elutasítom</i> [_{DP} <i>a kezelését</i>].	✓ MEANING2: both > refuse > treat	✓ MEANING2: both > refuse > treat
CONTR. TOPIC	(5b) <i>Mindkettőtöknek</i> <i>elutasítom</i> [_{DP} <i>a kezelését</i>].	* MEANING2 * MEANING1	✓ MEANING1: refuse > both > treat

→ Conclusion III: the patient of CENs behaves as an argument, the agent as a "conceptual argument".

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